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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of the introduction of cable television into a small Minnesota community, focusing on changes in viewing patterns and motives for watching. One hundred seventy-two individuals were contacted with a mail questionnaire: 34 completed an initial TV viewing log in which they kept track of their viewing for a three-day period, 86 completed a second log, and 52 finished both logs. While cable TV increased the number of available programs, the five additional channels provided more redundancy than variety. Data revealed that the expansion of available viewing choices was associated with the pattern of conscious intentions (motives) that people have for watching television. Two sets of motivational schema were defined: one type refers to motives initiating viewing and includes media-seeking, program content-seeking, generic content-seeking, information-seeking, and a mixture of motives; the second refers to decisions to continue watching subsequent programs and includes continuation media-seeking, program content-seeking, criteria content-seeking, and watching the "least objectionable" programs. Enlarged viewing availability was also linked to types of programs chosen and maximization of interests. (Author/KS)

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CONSEQUENCES OF THE TELEVISION OF ABUNDANCE: INTRODUCTION OF CABLE TELEVISION INTO A SMALL MINNESOTA COMMUNITY*

by

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Paper presented to the Theory and Methodology Division of the Association for Education in Journalism, College Park, Maryland, August, 1976

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Cable television represents the introduction into social systems of a phenomenon promising considerable power to change patterns of communication and information seeking. Yet, while researchers and critics have noted potential effects and designed elaborate systems, little scientific research has been conducted to measure the impact of cable TV.

Cable technology promises to provide the "Television of Abundance,"[1] and it is this aspect of the medium from which many potentially significant consequences stem. The abundance is represented by the virtually unlimited channel capacity of cable systems. Following quickly on the heels of cable TV is an even newer medium, disc-cassette television, which will further expand the volume and variety of contents available to media consumers.[2] Thus, the range of this variable--channel capacity--is likely to expand in the future.

The greater capacity can be used to offer increased variety--new formats and novel programming--or to provide programs redundant to previous offerings. Agostino notes in his study of five urban cable systems that the channel expansion tended to increase redundancy more than program variety. Cable systems imported the signals of distant stations whose programming closely paralleled that of local independents. Thus, there was a greater expansion in redundancy than in variety.[3]

Various critics and researchers have attributed considerable importance to cable's expansive capacity.[4] Little of that attention, however, has concerned the manner in which people actually use the media. In this paper people are treated as active agents who must cope with the more abundant content made available by cable television.

Two factors will be linked to cable's abundance. The first is the pattern of conscious intentions (motives) people have for watching television.

The second concerns the types of programs viewed, and whether people are better able to maximize their interests as a result of cable TV.

Motives and Cable TV

McGuire notes that two trends in motivational research are increased emphasis on "humanistic" rather than physiological motives, and greater stress on the "cognitive" component of motivation. A motivational schema outlined by Jeffres[5] is consistent with these trends; that schema was based on a Media Behavior Unit designed to allow researchers to examine all media behaviors. Changes are required for a more detailed examination of a particular medium, television. In the natural setting a decision to watch television may be followed by several programs rather than a single content. Additional decisions may also accompany each program watched, as illustrated below.

A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.
Individual wants function fulfilled	Individual considers available behaviors	Individual engages in viewing of TV program	Behavior fulfills one or more functions	Continuation/ selection decision	Another TV program viewed	Behavior fulfills functions

MODEL OF TELEVISION VIEWING PROCESS (TVP)

The TV Viewing Process (TVP) presented above includes two TV programs but could be extended further to include whatever number was viewed before the individual stopped watching television. With the same letters indicating duplication of points, a four-program sequence would be as follows: ABCD/EFG/EFG/EFG. Points F and G are separated for clearer representation, though in reality some functions are fulfilled during actual viewing. Points in the TVP could be elaborated, though that's unnecessary for our purposes.

Initiating motives are used to define the first of two sets of motivational concepts. The concept of motive here refers to states of mind which intend a future fact that may or may not come to pass.[6] The content of conscious motives to start watching TV provides the basis for defining the first set of variables: Non-Seeking, Media-Seeking, Generic Content-Seeking, Program Content-Seeking, and Information-Seeking.[7] Non-seeking occurs when people engage in media behaviors while moving towards other goals; here the individual has not "sought" media or media content but has been "forced" to engage in such behavior, e.g., having to listen to the radio while riding in another person's car. A second distinction is made between Media-Seeking, where the individual wants some function fulfilled without regard to content (e.g., "I want to relax so I'm going to watch TV"), and several types of Content-Seeking, where the individual moves toward particular content. The Media-Seeking—Content-Seeking distinction may be viewed as a dichotomization of a continuum of specificity: the individual whose behavior is MS moving toward the medium's universe of offerings (his personal, experience-based universe); another whose behavior is Generic Content-Seeking (GCS) moving toward a class of TV programs, e.g., news, sports, movies; another whose behavior is Program Content-Seeking (PCS) moving toward a specific program; and another whose behavior is Information-Seeking (IS) moving toward some content within a program, e.g., weather forecaster's predicted temperature for tomorrow.[8] More distinctions in terms of specificity of content could be made.

Like the initiating motive, later decisions may be void of TV content, e.g., "I'm still tired and don't want to move"; however, the on-going nature of the behavior is likely to make content relevant in the decisions--the TV images flowing by making content more salient. At the end of the first TV program watched, viewers essentially have four decisions: 1) to stop;

2) to continue on the same channel without making any conscious decisions, i.e., treating the next program as part of the on-going behavior and not requiring further direction; 3) to focus on feelings, non-content bases for continuing behavior, e.g., "I should get some work done but I'm still tired and don't feel like doing anything"; and 4) to use some criteria for selecting among available content. The fourth may be broken down further into types of criteria used.

Decisions to stop, continue, or select additional programs within the TV Viewing Process are similar to the initiating motive, but not entirely.[9] The second set of motivational concepts refers to the conscious decisions to continue watching television within TVP's. When decisions are made, several bases may be given. First, people can give feelings and non-TV content bases for their behaviors, e.g., "I'm still tired and want to relax"; this will be referred to as Continuation Media-Seeking (CMS). Second, people can seek specific programs as desirable wholes, e.g., "I like to watch 'All In the Family," "'Mannix' is one of my favorites"; this will be called Program Content-Seeking (PCS). Third, individuals can select content on the basis of some criterion, e.g., actors or characters, plots or themes, or program characteristics--"I like the main actor in this movie, Glenda Jackson," "I enjoy mysteries," "I think the program's funny"; these decisions, all made on the basis of some criteria, will be called Criteria Content-Seeking (CCS). Fourth, people can seek specific time segments of programs, e.g., the weather forecast within a news program, an advertised segment of "60 Minutes"; this will be called Information-Seeking (IS). Sixth, people can indicate selection of a program as the "lesser of two evils"; this refers to instances in which people move away from some potential choices in favor of others, e.g., "I don't like the other programs." This will be called selection of the Least Objectionable Program, or LOP selection.[10]

The enlarged content menu made available by cable television could affect the pattern of motives for watching TV in several ways. After an adequate amount of time for trial and familiarization, the following is expected: the greater menu makes salient to individuals the fact that numerous programs are available; the individual is more likely, as a consequence, to make decisions which involve one of those choices. In Content-Seeking the individual intends the viewing of particular programs or contents. The first hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 1: Expansion of the number of available choices through cable television will lead to an increase in Content-Seeking.

Faced with more choices, people would have to use various criteria for making a content selection. "TV Guide" and logs in newspapers are likely sources of information for decision-making. The need for making a choice would tie the motive to content. An increase in the number of programs requires that a choice be made from more alternatives, but the expanded menu's presence does not dictate that people anticipate such decisions by intending to watch particular contents (Content-Seeking).

If there is inadequate time to examine potential offerings, people are likely to anticipate the medium (Media-Seeking) more than specific contents. After cable TV has been introduced, viewers need a certain amount of time to familiarize themselves with the more abundant content. Only after a sampling period can people obtain the necessary information for comparison, evaluation and later use in TV viewing decisions. One cannot anticipate something with which one is unfamiliar, or only vaguely acquainted. One can anticipate the expanded menu, however, and this would lead to a relative increase in Media-Seeking. In part, a novelty effect may be attributed to people's belief that the added capacity should provide something of interest. More certain that there will be an interesting program

at any given time, people might decide to watch TV "because there's sure to be something good on with all those channels." Thus, in the short-run cable might lead to more Media-Seeking, while in the long-run the expanded choices would lead to increased Content-Seeking.

Changes also are expected for decisions within the TV Viewing Process. No hypotheses are entertained for Program Content-Seeking, Information-Seeking, or continued viewing without making any conscious decision. Changes expected include relative decreases in the frequency of Continuation Media-Seeking (CMS) and Least Objectionable Program selections, and an increase in Criteria Content-Seeking (CCS). In one-channel situations decisions to watch the Least Objectionable Program should be replaced by a decrease in viewing, since the only way to avoid an uninteresting program is to stop watching TV. In two or three channel situations, however, some choice is available and some people would likely opt for the "lesser of two evils" at times. With an expansion in the TV menu, there is a greater likelihood that people will find something that interests them. Thus, a decrease is expected in decisions to select the Least Objectionable Program. The second hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 2: Expansion of the number of available choices through cable television will lead to a decrease in selection of the Least Objectionable Program within TVPs.

The rationale for the other two changes within TV Viewing Processes is similar to that for the first hypothesis. A decrease is expected in Continuation Media-Seeking (CMS). The expanded menu should make more salient the fact that a large number of choices is available. The more salient the potential programs, the more likely a decision to continue watching TV will involve one of those choices. Thus, the increased number of channels should lead to a reduction in the relative frequency of Continuation Media-Seeking.

An increase is expected in Criteria Content-Seeking (CCS). The more

abundant content means viewers are confronted with more potential criteria and a greater number of potential comparisons. Using Carter's paradigm of affective relations as a reference,[11] we might expect the proliferation of programs to produce an increase in the relative frequency with which individuals make comparative judgments, rather than focus on salience relationships. In such judgments, people decide to watch one program rather than another on the basis of some criterion, one program has an attribute (humor, a particular character, etc.) that another hasn't. Such judgments are, by definition, Criteria Content-Seeking. Agostino found that viewers in cable systems with more alternatives used a larger number of channels;[12] it would seem likely that these viewing decisions involved more comparisons of programs too. The logic for the two hypotheses falls short of the deductive model; though the potential choices may be more salient, the individual need not involve content in his decision to continue watching TV. The third and fourth hypotheses are:

Hypothesis 3: Expansion of the number of available choices through cable television will lead to a decrease in Continuation Media-Seeking.

Hypothesis 4: Expansion of the number of available choices through cable television will lead to an increase in Criteria Content-Seeking.

Cable TV and Viewer Interest

When a poor family's income increases the change is usually evident at the dinner table. The family can eat more meat and cut down on the number of inexpensive casseroles. With reduced income constraints, members of the family maximize their tastes, eating more of what they like and less of what they don't like. The same sort of situation presents itself when cable television is introduced. Faced with cable's more abundant channels, viewers can watch more of what they like and less of what they don't like. For

example, when a sports fan can watch only one or two TV channels, there is a limited number of sports programs available for satisfying his interest in such content. The greater volume presented by cable television reduces this constraint, allowing the individual to watch more sports programs.[13] As Agostino noted, after subscribing to cable TV, viewers were confronted with more soap operas, more police-detective shows, more situation-comedies, etc.[14]

Utility theory offers some suggestions for predicting how people will react to the abundance of content available via cable television. Though working with print media rather than television, Miller used utility theory to study information-seeking behavior.[15] The theory assumes that a person faced with a set of objects is able to evaluate them and give them rank order. Furthermore, given the opportunity to select one of the elements, the individual will maximize his perceived utility by choosing the element most highly evaluated.[16] As hypothesized, persons in a goal-seeking mode, e.g., a person seeking a useful way to "kill time," gravitated toward familiar sources.[17] The finding that people gravitate toward familiar sources has possibilities for explaining how viewers will behave when confronted with the more abundant offerings of cable. Individuals have a set of interests and values with which TV offerings have been evaluated in the past. Based on one's experience with pre-cable TV programs; the individual has a preference for certain types of content, whether they be soap operas, sports, talk shows, or movies. After an initial sampling period to see what's available, the individual would gravitate toward familiar, more highly valued contents. Thus, we would expect people to maximize their interests further with the introduction of cable TV.[18]

One consequence of a tendency for people's viewing to become more homogeneous is an increase in the public affairs knowledge gap which has been identified by Tichenor, Donohue and Olien. A formal statement of the phenomenon is:

As the infusion of mass media information into a social system

> increases, segments of the population with higher socioeconomic status tend to acquire this information at a faster rate than the lower status segments, so that the gap in knowledge between these segments tends to increase rather than decrease.[19]

The increasing gap is based on several factors. More highly educated people have greater communication skills, more existing knowledge from prior exposure, and more frequent social contacts relevant to public affairs. Furthermore, high SES people consume more print media, where a larger amount of public affairs information is lodged, while lower SES people rely more heavily on television for their news.

Among cable TV's abundant offerings are more news and public affairs programs. Since such content is of greater interest and utility to higher SES individuals, they would be expected to expose themselves to more public affairs programs. At the same time lower status persons would watch more of other types of programs and decrease their viewing of news and public affairs. In most two-or-three TV station markets, viewers have no choice other than news at 5:30, 6 and 10 p.m. Local stations and networks schedule their news broadcasts opposite each other, providing viewers with no non-news alternatives. When non-network affiliates are relayed via cable TV, programs other than news are available at those time periods, and these would attract some who want to watch TV but not news.

Interest maximization is defined as the tendency for an individual to increase his viewing of programs in more highly valued categories and to decrease his viewing of programs in less highly valued categories. Value here refers to one's preference for watching categories of programs. The fifth hypothesis is:

> Hypothesis 5: Expansion of the number of available choices through cable television will lead to greater interest maximization.

A direct test of the knowledge gap phenomenon was not possible but a related hypothesis was tested. One of the premises for the knowledge gap is

that higher socioeconomic status individuals rely less on television for their news than do lower SES people. To that notion we'll add the view that higher SES people are attracted to news and public affairs content of television more than are lower SES individuals. There are some differences in the findings here, in part because of the different measures.[20] However, Robinson noted that differences in news viewing do emerge when education, occupation, and income are taken into account.[21] This is more consistent with the SES variable on which the knowledge gap is based.[22] Another factor is that the appetite for news and other categories may be more quickly satisfied for some people than others; there simply is not enough information to know where the ceilings are located. The sixth hypothesis is:

> Hypothesis 6: Expansion of the number of available choices through cable television will increase the gap between low and high SES groups' viewing of news broadcasts.

Study Design

The six hypotheses were tested in a study which took advantage of the scheduled introduction of cable TV within a small (2,250) Minnesota community. The town was selected in part because of the time cable was scheduled for introduction. Also, about 75 percent of the potential households had signed up for cable, compared to 40 and 50 percent rates in other towns which were scheduled for cable TV about that time. The higher rate of subscription was expected to produce a population of cable viewers more closely resembling the town's demographic makeup.[23]

Prior to the introduction of cable, most respondents received from one to three TV stations; 7 percent said they only received a nearby NBC affiliate, 27 percent said they received that station and a public broadcast station, and 56 percent said they received both of those stations and a CBS affiliate with headquarters in a neighboring state. About 9 percent received from one

to three additional stations via UHF.[24] After the introduction of cable TV, viewers received all of the "local" stations, plus five additional stations that included the three network affiliates in the Twin Cities (Minneapolis - St. Paul) and an independent and a PBS station. The increase represents almost a tripling of the pre-cable offerings. For example, comparing the two weeks during which most respondents were contacted before and after the advent of cable, we find the number of movies available went from 12 (for the two "local" network affiliates) to 60 (for all eight stations).[25] The imported channels maintained longer hours and included more movies than did the local affiliates.

A simple random sample was taken of the 500 who had signed work orders, and a mail questionnaire and TV viewing log were sent to 200 subscribers in March, 1975. Accompanying the questionnaire was a letter explaining how to fill out the viewing log. About 95 percent of the 200 were contacted by telephone shortly after the letters and log had been sent; instructions were repeated, questions answered, and respondents' cooperation solicited. A follow-up letter was also sent. A total of 95 people returned the log and questionnaire, a response rate of about 48 percent. Of these, 86 were judged reliable; nine others gave inadequate information or failed to cooperate with the instructions. Respondents wrote down what programs they watched on the TV viewing log during a three-day period. The project was introduced as a study of leisure-time activities and television viewing. No mention of cable TV was made.

The second measurement took place in late June, about a month after cable TV had been introduced. Actual interviews were conducted from June 19 through July 3, with the bulk done from June 23 to June 28. In the second measurement, the 86 who had returned reliable logs and questionnaires the first time were contacted again; an additional 110 were randomly sampled from the remaining subscriber list to increase the sample size and guard against a high attrition

rate. Out of the original 86, 52 were interviewed in the second measurement. Of the 110 new subscribers added, 61 interviews were completed.[26]

Letters of introduction were sent to the 196 subscribers before they were contacted in person by interviewers. Again, respondents were asked to fill out the TV viewing logs. Interviewers returned at the end of the three-day period to pick up the log and gather additional information.

The two TV viewing logs filled out by respondents were identical (see Appendix A). Each included three pages in which respondents were given space for the "Reason you're going to watch TV" and the program viewed. At the top of each page were instructions.

The reasons given for watching TV were used to measure the motivational concepts defined earlier. First, the TV viewing situations were delineated by noting starting and stopping times. The reasons given for watching the first program in each situation were then coded as either Media-Seeking, Genetic Content-Seeking, Program Content-Seeking, Information-Seeking, or Mixed. The last was included to provide for instances in which people gave both content and non-content bases for their viewing. After unreliable logs had been separated out, the coding procedures outlined in Appendix B were used. Reasons given for watching other programs within the TV Viewing Process are coded in a similar manner.[27]

Each of the programs listed for viewing on the two TV viewing logs was placed into one of 20 categories, e.g., soap operas, game shows, police-detective shows.[28] People were expected to maximize their interests by watching more programs in highly valued categories and watching fewer programs in less-valued categories. The 20 categories were viewed as too numerous for a measure ascertaining people's general interest; thus, the number was reduced to eight categories, which people were asked to evaluate in terms of "how much do you like or dislike watching each type of program."[29]

Results

During the study a number of serious problems were encountered; thus, generalizeability of the results is restricted. A major factor was the short time intervening between the introduction of cable TV and the second measurement; little time was allowed for cable TV to have an impact, and the "novelty" of the situation was still evident. A second major factor limiting the study results was the time of measurement. Because of factors out of the researcher's control, the introduction of cable and the second measurement took place during late spring and early summer; there was a 30 percent drop in the number of programs viewed as summer activities attracted people outdoors. Thus, we do not know whether changes found would be encountered in situations where the amount of TV viewing normally remains stable.

About two thirds of the respondents were somewhat or very satisfied with cable TV, while a third was uncertain or dissatisfied. About 10 percent of all respondents said it was "too early" to make a judgment. Improved reception was cited by 34 percent of 113 respondents as one of the things they liked about cable TV. Slightly more than 60 percent mentioned more variety, more programs, or more channels. About 13 percent cited specific types of content made available by cable TV; for example, three persons said they liked the wider news coverage or greater news alternatives, while one person pointed to the availability of non-news programs--"Now I don't have to watch news." Poor reception on one or more channels was cited as a problem by 17 percent of the respondents; fewer than 5 percent cited such things as program duplication, too few channels, cost, and family arguments over what to watch.

Both the panel data and analysis of aggregates before and after the introduction of cable television show a decrease in TV viewing. However, the drop in viewing is greatest when measured in terms of total time spent watching TV and the number of programs viewed. The number of times people watch TV seems

to be less affected by seasonal changes, or the advent of CATV. Apparently people watch a little less often in the spring-summer, but when they make the decision to sit down, they spend considerably less time and watch far fewer programs.

TABLE 1

CHANGES IN TV VIEWING[1]

	Aggregates	Both
Number of programs viewed	-31%	-30%
Number of hours spent watching television	-26%	-27%
Number of times respondents watched TV during 3-day period	- 8%	+ 2%

[1]The two aggregates are : 1) all respondents in the pre-cable TV measurement, including "Before only" and "Both" groups; 2) all respondents in the post-cable introduction measurement, including "After only" and "Both" sample groups. The three measures reported above are based on the TV viewing logs filled out by respondents.

The average number of hours spent watching television during a three-day period before cable TV was 10.7, while the mean number afterwards was 7.9. A similar decrease is noted in the amount of time spent viewing by respondents participating in both measurements (see Table 1, Appendix C). The average number of programs watched during a three-day period before cable TV was 13.8, while the mean number for a similar period after cable had arrived was 9.7 (see Table 2, Appendix C). A similar decrease is noted in the number of programs viewed by respondents participating in both measurements; this sample group, however, tends to include "heavier viewers" than the other groups. Before the introduction of cable respondents watched TV an average of 5.2 times

during a three-day period. After the arrival of cable TV the figure dropped slightly below 5. For participants filling out both TV logs, there was a small increase. However, in neither comparisons were the differences between the means statistically significant (see Table 3, Appendix C).

Changes in Motives:

The first four hypotheses relate changes in the pattern of motives for TV viewing to cable's expansion of the number of available choices.

The two major problems affecting the survey design require attention in the analysis. As noted, the second measurement was delayed until late spring-early summer, when people watch less TV. Because of the decrease in total viewing, the number of times people engaged in Media-Seeking, Content-Seeking, etc. was standardized as a percentage of the total number of TV Viewing Processes. The same procedure was followed for decisions within TVP's; the number of times a person engaged in Continuation Media-Seeking, Criteria Content-Seeking, etc., was standardized as a percentage of the total number of decisions within TVP's. The analyses, then, are conducted on the percentages of motives in the various categories.

The other problem was the short time between cable's arrival and the second measurement. The hypotheses were based on the assumption that sufficient time would intervene between cable's arrival and measurement for the novelty effect to wear off; however, as discussed previously, construction delays and other factors intervened, leaving less than a month for viewers to familiarize themselves with the added channels and new programs. Thus, the changes associated with novelty would be about as likely as that stated in the first hypothesis, which predicted an increase in Content-Seeking, with a corresponding decrease in Media-Seeking. If viewers have little time to examine the new content, they should feel more confident that the larger

number of channels would provide something good whenever they wanted to watch; this would lead to an increase in Media-Seeking.

The mean proportion of initiating motives which were Media-Seeking increased from 20.6 percent before cable to 23.9 percent after cable's arrival. The increase is even greater when panel data are examined; there the increase is from 17.8 to 29.4 percent. Only the panel difference is statistically significant. Corresponding decreases are found in the various types of Content-Seeking and Mixed intentions. The patterns of changes in motives are quite similar in the aggregate and panel analyses, except for Information-Seeking, where an increase is found in the aggregated data and a decrease in the panel data. This pattern of similarity suggests that familiarity with the data-gathering instrument was not a particularly important factor for those respondents who filled out the TV viewing logs both before and after the introduction of cable.

Evidence that the novelty effect had not worn off is found in respondents' evaluation of the new cable system; about 10 percent said it was too early to make a judgment about whether or not they were satisfied with cable TV. Some respondents also had not found accurate TV program schedules, and, thus, would have had to Media-Seek since they were uncertain what programs were on.

Changes in the raw scores for initiating motives are in Table 4, Appendix C. The average number of times people engaged in Media-Seeking remained about the same, while the averages for Generic Content-Seeking, Program Content-Seeking and Mixed dropped. The mean number of motives which were Information-Seeking increased. Only the changes in Information-Seeking and Mixed are statistically significant.

TABLE 2

CHANGES IN INITIATING MOTIVES[1]

	Aggregates		Panel	
	Before CATV Intro-duction	After CATV Intro-duction	Before CATV Intro-duction	After CATV Intro-duction
Media-Seeking (MS)	20.6%	23.9%	17.8%	29.4%
	t=.93 N.S.		t=2.09	p<.05
Generic Content-Seeking (GCS)	32.6%	29.9%	34.0%	29.4%
Program Content-Seeking (PCS)	35.1%	32.0%	36.1%	34.1%
Information-Seeking (IS)	3.8%	6.3%	5.4%	4.6%
Mixed	7.9%	5.0%	6.8%	2.4%
(N)	76	107	52	
Mean number of TVP's	5.22	4.79	5.31	5.42

[1]The percentages do not total to 100% because of rounding error. The number of times a person spent Media-Seeking (GCS, etc.) was divided by his total number of TVP's. Each person's proportion was then used as a data point in the appropriate category; thus, the percentages represent the means of the individual proportions, e.g., the 20.6 % is the average of the individual's proportions (which represent the percentage of one's TVP's which are MS). All motives are standardized in this manner.

Individual patterns of initiating motives were examined for consistency. In an earlier study Jeffres found that 69 percent of viewers' television patterns were consistently Content-Seeking, while 19 percent were consistently Media-Seeking and 8 percent were mixed.[30]

At least three TVP's coded as MS, PCS, etc. were required for an individual to be included in the analysis of individual consistency. Patterns were examined before and after the introduction of cable. People were assigned to

one of four groups, which included 1) a mixed pattern with no motive dominating, and three consistent patterns, 2) Media-Seeking/Mixed; 3) Generic Content-Seeking; 4) Program Content-Seeking/Information-Seeking. People whose viewing was at least 50 percent Generic Content-Seeking were placed in that group. Those whose viewing was either half Mixed or half Media-Seeking were placed in that group, and so forth.[31] As Table 3 shows, there is an increase in the percentage of individual patterns which are consistently Media-Seeking or consistently Mixed. Decreases are noted in the percentage of patterns which are Generic Content-Seeking and the percentage which are mixed with no motive dominating. The percentage representing Program Content-Seeking/Information-Seeking is about the same.

The second, third and fourth hypotheses concern decisions to continue viewing within TV Viewing Processes. An increase was expected in Criteria Content-Seeking and decreases in Continuation Media-Seeking and decisions to watch the Least Objectionable Program. In Continuation Media-Seeking people give feelings and non-TV content bases for their behaviors, in Program Content-Seeking viewers seek specific programs as desirable wholes, and in Criteria Content-Seeking people select content on the basis of some criterion such as actors, plots or program characteristics. Again, because of the decrease in total viewing, the number of times people engaged in Continuation Media-Seeking, etc. was standardized as a percentage of the total number of decisions to continue watching TV within TVP's.

A decrease in Least Objectionable Program decisions is found in the aggregate analysis, but an increase is found in the panel analysis. In both cases the differences are quite small and neither is statistically significant (see Table 4). A drop is also noted in the raw (unstandardized) data (see Table 5, Appendix C).

TABLE 3

INDIVIDUAL PATTERNS OF INITIATING MOTIVES[1]

	Before Cable Television's Introduction	After Cable Television's Introduction
Number of individuals whose viewing is consistently Media-Seeking or consistently Mixed	10 (15%)	24 (27%)
Number of individuals whose viewing is consistently Generic Content-Seeking	20 (29%)	21 (23%)
Number of individuals whose viewing is consistently Program Content-Seeking or consistently Information-Seeking	21 (31%)	29 (32%)
Number of individuals where no single motive dominates	17 (25%)	16 (18%)
(N)	68	90

[1] Only people with three or more initiating motives classified as Media-Seeking, Generic Content-Seeking, etc. were included in the analysis. People's viewing was classified as consistent if at least 50 percent of the initiating motives fell into one category, e.g., 4 of 7 motives were Media-Seeking. In the last pattern no single motive dominated; among those included here are cases where respondents had an even number of motives which were split between two categories, e.g., 4 Media-Seeking and 4 Information-Seeking.

TABLE 4

CHANGES IN DECISIONS WITHIN TV VIEWING PROCESSES[1]

	Aggregates		Panel	
	Before CATV Intro-duction	After CATV Intro-duction	Before CATV Intro-duction	After CATV Intro-duction
Continuation Media-Seeking (CMS)	23.1%	17.5%	20.3%	16.1%
	t=1.19 N.S.		t=.88 N.S.	
Program Content-Seeking (PCS)	56.2%	65.5%	58.5%	62.3%
Criteria Content-Seeking (CCS)	14.1%	6.8%	12.4%	8.2%
Least Objectionable Program Decision	2.4%	2.1%	2.9%	4.7%
	t=.22 N.S.		t=.65 N.S.	
(N)	70	87	34	

[1] The reduction in number of cases is due to the large percentage of people whose viewing either before or after the advent of CATV consisted totally of single-program TVP's.

The expected decrease in Continuation Media-Seeking is found in both the aggregate and panel data, though the decreases are not statistically significant. A drop in the number of times people engaged in Continuation Media-Seeking (unstandardized, raw scores) is also found, and that difference is statistically significant (see Table 5, Appendix C). The presence of a larger number of choices may have prompted viewers to consider other available programs rather than simply continuing to watch without changing channels.

An increase was predicted in Criteria Content-Seeking. Viewers were expected to use various criteria to disinguish between competing programs. As Table 4 shows, the decrease in Continuation Media-Seeking is accompanied by

an increase in Program Content-Seeking rather than Criteria Content-Seeking. With few published sources of information and insufficient time to gather information, respondents may not have developed many criteria for judging the new programs. However, the process of comparing programs by flipping channels would entail some need for criteria, and the results may simply mean that viewers did not report the criteria on their TV viewing logs; thus, the increase would be found in Program Content-Seeking, which is the case.

The data presented here are an attempt to relate a change at the community level to individual behaviors defined in terms of discrete media behavior units. Further research is needed to determine whether people would tend to increase their Content-Seeking once the novelty has worn off and viewers have had sufficient time to acquaint themselves with the new content. If the increase in Media-Seeking remains after the novelty stage, then it would appear that the increase in channels was sufficiently large for viewers to be confident that something good was available most of the time. This raises several questions. How large must the menu be for people to increase their Media-Seeking? Are there individual differences, e.g., some people preferring few choices, others demanding a large number of alternatives before they place much confidence in the medium. Furthermore, what role do redundancy and variety play in determining whether viewers seek the medium or selectively seek out specific contents most of the time?

The Federal Communication Commission is also concerned about the size of the menu and the amount of variety provided in cable TV systems. For the most part the FCC seems less interested in the effects on people's behaviors than it is in the potential economic consequences of structural changes in cable systems. However, the type of research begun here eventually may provide the basis for policies oriented more towards consumers than currently is the case.

Interest Maximization:

Viewers were expected to maximize their interests further after cable's expanded menu presented them with more choices. The more abundant content largely represents redundancy rather than variety; most of the new programs fit into the category schema mentioned earlier. Comparing the two weeks during which most respondents were contacted before and after the advent of cable, we find the number of soap operas available went from 11 before cable to 25 afterwards.[32] Increases in some of the other categories are: musical-variety programs (e.g., Bobby Goldsboro), 16 before, 32 after; talk-variety shows (e.g., Dinah Shore), 4 before, 12 after; news-variety shows (e.g., "60 Minutes), 5 before, 15 after; public affairs discussion shows (e.g., "World Press"), 14 before, 29 after; family dramas (e.g., "The Waltons"), 4 before, 11 after; police-detective shows (e.g., "Hawaii 5-0") 10 before, 42 after; situation comedies (e.g., "Maude"), 14 before, 41 after; other drama shows (e.g., "Medical Center"), 6 before, 12 after; religious programs (e.g., "Oral Roberts"), 21 before, 35 after.

Viewers were expected to maximize their interests further by reducing the number of categories used and concentrating their viewing in highly valued categories. A decrease was found in the number of categories used but the drop can be attributed to the decline in amount of viewing.

By examining changes in viewing within categories, we can see whether people maximized their interests while watching fewer programs. If people did maximize their interests further, then the increases in viewing should take place in categories given higher interest ratings; the declines should be found in less-valued categories. It was assumed that people's ratings of the categories would be relatively stable over time, and, thus, the ratings were only measured once.[33]

The analysis was conducted in two steps. First, all of the categories

used by respondents were aggregated to see whether the predicted increase in interest maximization would occur. Then individual scores were constructed to test the hypothesis. As Table 5 shows, in the aggregate analysis 42 percent of the viewing within categories was unchanged. Although a majority of the viewing within categories changed with the introduction of cable TV, there appears to have been a "ceiling" effect; in 114 cases there was no viewing within categories (of low interest) either before or after cable's introduction. In these cases respondents had already successfully avoided certain content; a continuation of such behavior would be consistent with the hypothesis.

TABLE 5

CHANGES IN VIEWING WITHIN CATEGORIES[1]

	Changes in Number of Programs Watched	Changes in Number of Hours Watched Television
No change	41.9%	35.7%
Increased	30.6%	30.8%
Decreased	27.6%	33.5%
(N)	468	468

[1]The data are based on the two TV viewing logs. For each of the two measures (number of hours, number of programs), the amount of viewing in each category was standardized as a percentage of the total. Differences, thus, represent changes between the percentage of viewing devoted to categories before cable and the percentage devoted after cable's arrival.

More viewing is consistent with the hypothesis than in inconsistent, as Table 6 shows. About 55 percent of the viewing within categories is consistent with the interest maximization hypothesis, while 45 percent is

inconsistent. Thus, in the aggregated categories, there is a tendency toward greater interest maximization.

TABLE 6

CHANGES IN VIEWING WITHIN CATEGORIES BY INTEREST[1]

	Changes in Number of Programs	Changes in Number of Hours
Consistent with interest maximization hypothesis:		
High interest, increase in viewing	100	101
Low interest, decrease in viewing	28	34
Mean interest, no change in viewing	14	13
Low interest, no viewing in category before or after cable's arrival	114	114
	256 (55%)	262 (56%)
	* Z=2.0	** Z=2.6
	p<.05	p<.015
Inconsistent with interest maximization hypothesis:		
High interest, decrease in viewing	94	115
Low interest, increase in viewing	36	36
Mean interest, change in viewing	14	15
Other inconsistent patterns (high interest but 0 viewing before and after CATV; high interest but no change, etc.)	68	40
(N)	468	468

[1]Cases are categories.

*This is the probability of obtaining a frequency of 256 when the theoretical frequency of consistent changes is 234, or chance. The formula is $\frac{Z=f_1-F_1}{\sqrt{nPQ}}$

**This is the probability of obtaining a frequency of 262 when the theoretical frequency of consistent changes is 234, or chance.

Switching to the individual as the unit of analysis, we find a similar result; about 60 percent of the respondents exhibit patterns which tend to be consistent with the hypothesis. Each respondent was given +1 for each category change consistent with the hypothesis and -1 for each which was inconsistent; the final score represents an individual's tendency to act in accordance with the hypothesis. As Table 7 shows, 60 percent of the scores are positive, or consistent with the interest maximization hypothesis; however, that percentage is not significantly different from a chance proportion of 50 percent. Thus, though both the aggregated changes in categories and the individual scores are in the right direction, they provide only weak support for the interest maximization hypothesis.

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' INTEREST MAXIMIZATION SCORES[1]

Number Consistent	Number Inconsistent	IM Score	Frequency[2]	
8	-1	7	3	
7	-2	5	4	
6	-3	3	10	
5	-4	1	14	
			31 (60%)	Z=1.42
				p<.071 N.S.
4	-5	-1	14	
3	-6	-3	5	
2	-7	-5	1	
1	-8	-7	1	
			21 (40%)	

[1]The mean was .846 and the median was .741. Respondents received +1 for each of the 9 categories in which the change was consistent with the hypothesis and -1 for each inconsistency. Positive scores reflect a tendency to act in accordance with the hypothesis; negative scores represent a tendency to act contrary to the hypothesis.

[2]This is the probability of obtaining a frequency of 31 when the theoretical frequency of consistent scores is 26, or chance.

Apparently, people are only moderately successful in maximizing their interests. Limits to interest maximization are found both in the structure of the individual's life and the structure of the medium. An individual may have only a few free hours during prime time for watching TV; though he prefers musical-variety programs, only police shows or comedies may be available. The choice becomes one of watching less interesting programs or not watching TV. Also, an individual's tastes may be so strict that even the expanded cable menu includes few programs that meet the test; such a person is limited in his ability to maximize interests in TV viewing. Though limited in its utility as an indicator of strict standards, education does tend to indicate a more critical attitude toward TV viewing;[34] education and the interest maximization score are negatively related ($r=-.35$; $p<.005$).

Social demands are another constraint. Whether an individual is free to choose programs independent of family members is one example. TV programs also are useful topics of conversation, and people may alter their viewing because of friends. Respondents were asked how often they talk to other people about things they've seen on TV. This was negatively related to the interest maximization score, though the relationship was not statistically significant ($r=.21$; $p<.07$). The novelty of cable TV may have stimilated increased interpersonal communication about TV programs. Since knowledge of available programs would be useful for such social settings, viewers may have spent more time sampling different programs rather than focusing on personal interest; this could limit the extent to which an individual maximized his interests. The number of daily contacts (people talked to for at least a few minutes) was negatively related to the maximization score ($r=-.24$; $p<.04$). This too would suggest that some people found sampling more functional in the social context existing at that time.

Changes in News Viewing:

The last hypothesis predicted that people of low socioeconomic status would reduce their viewing of news broadcasts and public affairs programs, while high SES people would increase their viewing. The amount of public affairs viewing other than news was negligible, so the analysis was limited to news broadcasts. A comparison of the two weeks during which most respondents were contacted before and after the arrival of cable shows that the number of news programs (including five-minute "wrap ups") more than doubled.[35]

The drop in total viewing was matched by a decline in the number of news programs watched, and the decrease is found for both low and high SES groups in the aggregate and panel analyses (see Table 8).

News viewing was standardized by the number of programs watched to see whether high SES persons increased the percentage of their viewing which was news while low SES people decreased theirs. As Table 9 shows, decreases are found in the percentage of viewing devoted to news in three comparisons.

News viewing was broken down into national and local news shows to see whether the combined measures obscurred differences. Decreases are found for the number of local and national news programs watched,[36] but differences emerge when the viewing is standardized by the total number of programs (see Table 10 and Figures 1-8). High SES individuals devoted a larger percentage of their viewing to national news broadcasts after the advent of cable, while decreasing their attention to local news programs. The reverse is found for low SES individuals. The total number of programs watched remained relatively stable for the high SES group (panel data), declining slightly from 12.95 before cable TV to 12.67 after cable's arrival. In contrast, the mean number of programs watched by low SES individuals dropped from 18.5 to 11.9. Thus, it would appear that low SES people dropped

TABLE 8

TOTAL NEWS VIEWING (RAW DATA) BY SES GROUPS[1]

	Panel		Aggregates	
	Before Cable Introduction	After Cable Introduction	Before Cable Introduction	After Cable Introduction
low SES	4.17 (30)	3.30 (30)	4.13 (31)	2.74 (73)
	t=2.12 p<.05		t=2.49 p<.05	
high SES	4.57 (21)	2.81 (21)	4.42 (36)	2.74 (38)
	t=2.65 p<.02		t=2.44 p<.05	

[1]The sample sizes are in parentheses. Some of the information necessary for determining SES (education) was not gathered on individuals who participated in the pre-cable measurement only; thus, there was a modification in the way SES was computed for these individuals so that the aggregate analysis could be conducted. Those who were high on the other two variables used to determine SES (white collar occupation, high income) were put in the high SES group, and those who were low on the two variables (blue collar, low income) were put in the low SES group. The SES of 18 persons in the pre-cable only group was not determined because of additional missing data or conflicting information (e.g., blue collar and high income, or white collar and low income). Included in the news viewing are news programs at all time periods.

TABLE 9

TOTAL NEWS VIEWING (STANDARDIZED) BY SES GROUPS[1]

	Panel		Aggregates	
	Before Cable Introduction	After Cable Introduction	Before Cable Introduction	After Cable Introduction
low SES	.30 (30)	.30	.31 (30)	.29 (73)
			t=.44 N.S.	
high SES	.37 (21)	.32	.34 (36)	.33 (38)
	t=.86 N.S.		t=.23 N.S.	

[1]The sample sizes are in parentheses. Included in the news viewing are news programs at all time periods. For those in the "pre-cable TV only" group, SES was determined as described in the footnote to Table 8.

TABLE 10

LOCAL AND NATIONAL NEWS VIEWING BY SES GROUPS[1]

	Panel		Aggregates	
	Before Cable Introduction	After Cable Introduction	Before Cable Introduction	After Cable Introduction
Raw Data				
Local News[2]				
low SES	2.50 (30)	2.20 (30) t=1.03 N.S.	2.52 (31)	1.93 (73) t=1.82 N.S.
high SES	2.95 (21)	1.76 (21) t=2.78 p<.02	2.81 (36)	1.74 (38) t=2.64 p<.05
National News[3]				
low SES	.80 (30)	.63 (30) t= .80 N.S.	.77 (31)	.42 (73) t=1.65 N.S.
high SES	.90 (21)	.76 (21) t= .57 N.S.	.86 (36)	.66 (38) t= .81 N.S.
Standardized				
Local News[2]				
low SES	17.8 (30)	21.5 (30) t=1.27 N.S.	18.8 (30)	22.6 (73) t=1.27 N.S.
high SES	24.9 (21)	20.0 (21) t= .96 N.S.	22.6 (35)	22.6 (36)
National News[3]				
low SES	6.7 (30)	5.7 (30) t= .45 N.S.	6.7 (30)	3.6 (73) t=1.63 N.S.
high SES	7.2 (21)	8.5 (21) t= .46 N.S.	6.3 (35)	7.0 (36) t= .30 N.S.

[1] The sample sizes are in parentheses. For those respondents in the "pre-cable TV only" group, SES was determined as described in the footnote to Table 8.

[2] The local news includes only those news programs at 5, 5:30, 6 and 10 p.m.

[3] The national news includes the network news broadcasts scheduled at 5:30 p.m.

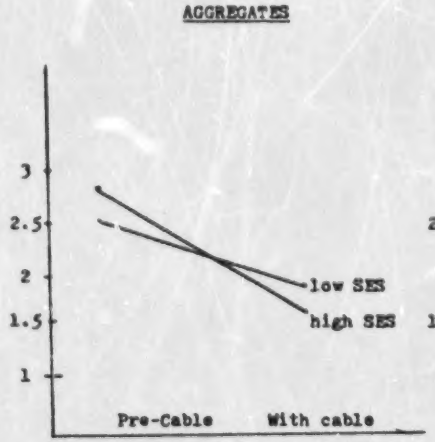

Figure 1: LOCAL NEWS, RAW SCORES; AGGREGATES

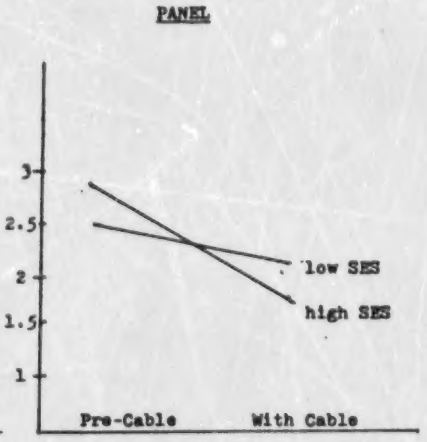

Figure 2: LOCAL NEWS, RAW SCORES; PANEL

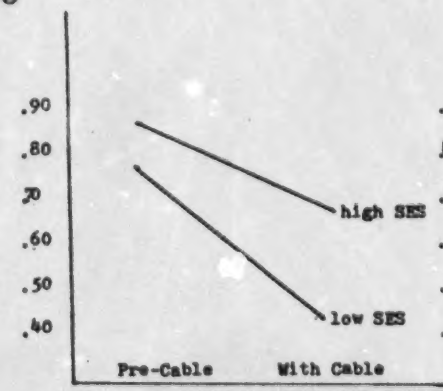

Figure 3: NATIONAL NEWS, RAW SCORES; AGGREGATES

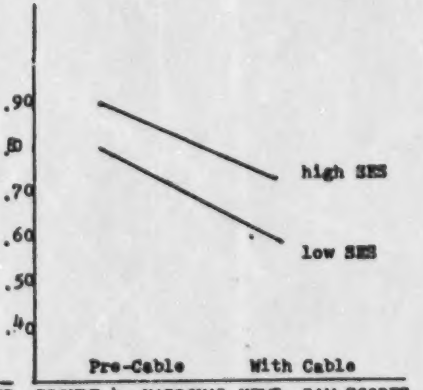

FIGURE 4: NATIONAL NEWS, RAW SCORES; PANEL

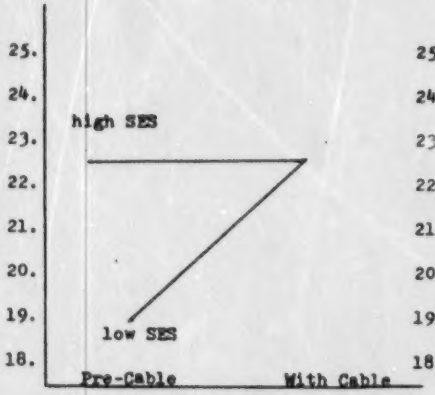

Figure 5: LOCAL NEWS, STANDARDIZED; AGGREGATES

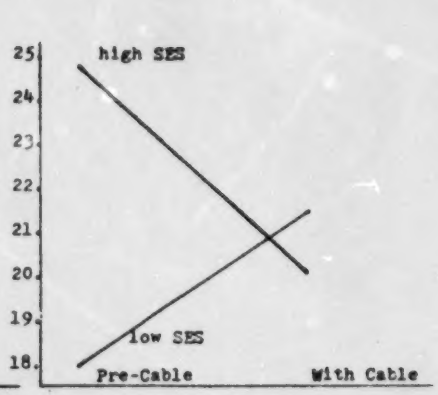

Figure 6: LOCAL NEWS, STANDARDIZED; PANEL

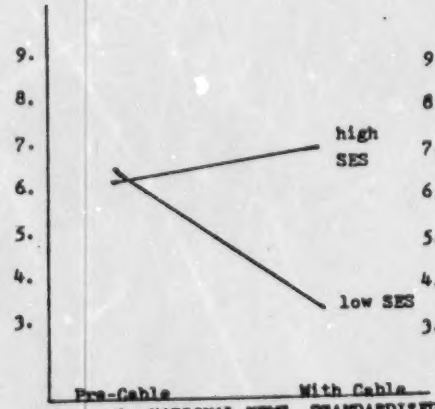

Figure 7: NATIONAL NEWS, STANDARDIZED; AGGREGATES

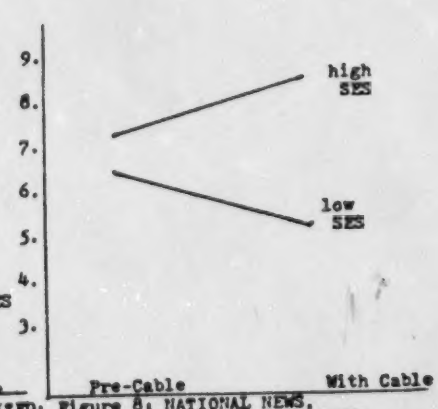

Figure 8: NATIONAL NEWS, STANDARDIZED; PANEL

low SES (N=73)
high SES (N=36)

low SES (N=30)
high SES (N=21)

more national news broadcasts from their viewing, while continuing to watch local news broadcasts. High SES individuals, on the other hand, watched about the same number of programs but included slightly more national news and a little less local news. Some respondents cited previously unavailable news programs as one of the things they liked best about cable TV. Though the differences are not statistically significant, the same pattern is found in both the panel and aggregate analyses.

Before cable TV most respondents had no choice other than news at 5:30, 6:00 and 10:00 p.m. and 12:00 noon. After cable's introduction, non-news alternatives were available. As Table 11 indicates, there was an increase in the viewing of non-news alternatives at the four time periods after cable's introduction. Though the percentages are quite small and differences are not statistically significant, the increase is found in both the aggregate and panel data analysis.

In general, the amount of local community news available did not change very much after the introduction of cable TV. Though a local-access channel did sponsor an all-day session of interviews, it was the only new addition by the time of the second measurement and it was coded as a separate program. Otherwise, viewers were still limited to the relatively little local news included in the news broadcasts of the station from a nearby community; this was available both before and after the arrival of cable TV. There was local news from other communities--the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul--added by cable TV; this may have attracted some viewers, particularly those who frequently travel to the metropolitan area for business and entertainment. At the same time, there was an increase in the number of national news programs available at 5:30 p.m. and the greater selection may have attracted some viewers who otherwise would not have watched national news. No major community events or national stories appeared during the second measurement to account for differences in viewing.

TABLE 11

CHANGES IN VIEWING NEWS BROADCASTS AT FOUR TIME PERIODS[1]

	Aggregates		Panel	
	Before CATV Introduction	After CATV Introduction	Before CATV Introduction	After CATV Introduction
Number of news programs watched at 5:30, 6:00, and 10:00 p.m. and 12:00 noon.	278	289	189	157
Number of non-news programs watched at the four time periods.	14(4.8%)	26(8.3%) t=1.24 N.S.	7(3.6%)	10(6%) t= .75 N.S.
(N)	292	315	196	167

[1] The figures in the table were taken from the two TV viewing logs. For the aggregates and for the panel, the t-test was run on the proportions of programs during the four time periods which were non-news before and after cable TV's introduction.

What are the limitations of the findings? First, there is a need to find out whether a difference would be found with an increase or no change in the gross amount of TV viewing. Second, the study should be replicated using communities of different sizes and with wider ranges and more normal distributions on such demographic variables as socioeconomic status and education. Third, there is a need to determine whether an SES difference grows with an increase from different bases, e.g., from 4 to 10 or from 10 to 15 channels. Furthermore, information gain should be measured in addition

to news viewing in a test of the knowledge gap hypothesis.

What are the implications of a differential change in news viewing as a consequence of cable's expansive capacity? With an increase in the volume carried by the mass media system, people might specialize more in particular contents. In this process of specialization new opinion leaders might emerge. If the pattern of viewing found in this study is supported by future research, the growth of large volume cable TV systems across the U.S. could serve to accentuate differences between SES groups in their knowledge of public affairs. High SES persons would increase their knowledge of national and international affairs, while low SES people would tend to decrease their knowledge of such matters. One appraoch to minimizing the SES difference in knowledge about national and international affairs is to include a larger number of such stories in local newscasts. Some broadcasters argue that local news programs should not provide redundant information about such events when the news is available during the national broadcast immediately before or after the local program. However, such news is not redundant information to low SES viewers who do not watch network news.

Local programming on cable TV can extend far beyond the half-hour news broadcast. If the relative increase in attention by low SES persons to local news can be extended to other community events presented on the local access channel, then cable may provide the impetus for greater community involvement by this segment of the population. The day-long session of local televised interviews delighted many local residents, who spent the afternoon watching friends and neighbors appear on TV. It was an important topic of conversation. Programming which taps a broad range of people might retain community attention to local-access programs. As newspapers have known for years, names make news. This idea might be extended to broadcast;

everyone likes to see himself on TV. If cable television fulfills this function for the community--providing for increased involvement in local events--then it will have sustained the hopes of its many promoters.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Sloan Commission on Cable Communications, On the Cable: The Television of Abundance, a report prepared by the Sloan Commission on Cable Communications (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 197).

[2]Robin Lanier, "Shimmering Future for Home TV on Records," New York Times Magazine, 25 May 1975, p. 9.

[3]Donald E. Agostino, "A Comparison of Television Consumer Behavior Between Broadcast and Cableviewers" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio University, 1974), p. 121.

[4]See, for example, Joseph Newman, ed., Wiring the World: The Explosion in Communications (Washington, D.C.: U.S. News & World Report, Inc., 1971); Ralph Lee Smith, The Wired Nation. Cable TV: The Electronic Communications Highway (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972).

[5]Leo W. Jeffres, "Functions of Media Behaviors," Communication Research, 2 (April, 1975): 137-161.

[6]For a discussion of the usage of the terms motive, purpose and function, see Gustav Bergman, "Purpose, Function, Scientific Explanation," Acta Sociologica, 5 (1962): 225-238, and May Brodbeck, "Meaning and Action," Philosophy of Science, 30 (1963): 309-324.

[7]Distinctions between the variables are presented in greater detail in Jeffres (1975), pp. 142-143.

[8]Examples are: Media-Seeking, "I want to relax"; Generic Content-Seeking, "I want to watch a late movie"; Program Content-Seeking, "I want to see 'Kojak'"; and Information-Seeking, "I want to find out what the weather is going to be like so I can plan our picnic." Concepts similar to those defined here were employed in a national study in Japan. Four types of TV viewing identified were: 1) accidental viewing--watching a program simply because the set is on and somebody else is watching: 2) random viewing--turning the set on but not having a particular program in mind; 3) selective viewing--turning the set on with a particular program in mind; 4) instrumental viewing--selecting a particular program as a means to attain a certain goal, e.g., watching a cooking program to learn to cook. The study is "Varieties of TV Viewing Habits," Japanese Viewers (Tokyo: Seibundo Shinkosha, 1966), pp. 62-87, abstracted in Hidetoshi Kato, Japanese Research on Mass Communications: Selected Abstracts (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1974), pp. 72-73.

[9]A methodological problem requires attention here. When people are asked to give their reasons and decisions, they are forced to give some basis for continuation. Thus, instances in which people fail to give some basis for continuation are likely to reflect forgetfulness, lack of cooperation, or feelings that later decisions are redundant to earlier ones.

[10]The conscious intentions which are the basis for determining Media-Seeking, etc. do not correspond to conceptualizations of underlying or more

generalized needs. Maslow, for example, presents several types of needs in his hierarchy. An individual's Media-Seeking or Content-Seeking may be a manifestation of any one of these needs. See Abraham H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970).

[11]Richard F. Carter, "Communications and Affective Relations," Journalism Quarterly, 42 (1965): 203-212.

[12]Donald E. Agostino, "A Comparison of Television Consumer Behavior Between Broadcast and Cablevisers" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio University, 1974).

[13]There are a host of constraints on one's capacity to actualize his potential in various areas. For a discussion of self-actualization see Maslow (1970), pp. 46, 53-55.

[14]Agostino, 1974, p. 121.

[15]M. Mark Miller, "Task Orientation and Salience as Determinants of Source Utility," Journalism Quarterly, 49 (Winter, 1972): 669-673.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., pp. 672, 673.

[18]At some point we might expect diminishing returns to set in as the individual becomes saturated with her favorite Doris Day movies or soap operas. The individual would have fulfilled her interests in those particular contents; in that situation the percentage of viewing time spent with the desired content would reach asymptote. Here we're speaking of a longer time frame.

[19]P.J. Tichenor, G.A. Donohue, and C.N. Olien, "Mass Media and Differential Growth in Knowledge," Public Opinion Quarterly, 34 (Summer, 1970).

[20]Bower found regular news programs to take up slightly more of the viewing time of the lowest educational group but the others were quite similar; his results are based on percentages of aggregated viewing times and it's unknown whether a larger percentage of people in the low education group devoted more time to viewing news. See Robert Bower, Television and the Public (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1973), p. 132.

[21]John P. Robinson, "World Affairs and Mass Media Exposure," Journalism Quarterly, 44 (1967): 26.

[22]Tichenor, Donohue and Olien (1970).

[23]Information on the cable subscription rates was obtained from the cable company. The town population was considerably older than the general U.S. population. The median age in 1970 was 44.4, with 30.6 percent of the population below age 18 and 25.8 percent 65 or older. Located in an agricultural area, the town is an important business and service center. It also is the county seat.

[24]These percentages are based on at least fair reception of TV channels. When only channels with "good" reception are considered, the number of channels received is reduced.

[25] The pre-cable TV figures refer to the two network affiliates received by 56 percent of respondents. For others the increases would be even greater. Published television schedules were used for making the comparison.

[26] Sampling both times was done without replacement. This, plus the time required for participation and summer schedules, account for the attrition rate. Of the original 86, 10 had cancelled cable, 7 refused, 5 moved, died or were ill, and 12 were either on vacation or not reached after at least 3 attempts. Of the 110 new subscribers added to the sample, 19 refused, and 31 were either on vacation or not reached after 3 attempts.

[27] Decisions within the TV Viewing Process were expected to be more content-oriented and to include finer distinctions in terms of program attributes. Thus, the Criteria Content-Seeking category was added to account for these decisions. A sample of decisions showed this to be the case and the CCS category was then included in the coding. The Mixed category was abandoned when the few instances of combined content and non-TV content bases appropriately fit under CCS; the non-content bases, such as feelings, were tied to program attributes, e.g., "The kid's antics make me laugh, feel good."

[28] The 20 categories were: soap operas, game-quiz shows, variety-music shows, variety-talk shows, variety-news shows, news broadcasts, other public affairs programs, police-detective shows, situation comedies, sports shows, wildlife shows, outdoors programs, children's shows, religious programs, instructional programs, regular movies ("Mystery Movie"), one-shot movies, family drama, other drama, and miscellaneous.

[29] Respondents were asked to tell "how much you like or dislike watching" nine types of programs, including police-detective programs, local news programs, musical-variety programs, national news programs, comedies, sports programs, game programs, day-time dramas (soap operas), and movies. Respondents used a six-point scale that ranged from "dislike a lot" to "like a lot."

[30] Jeffres (1975), pp. 155-156.

[31] If viewing was split evenly between two motives, e.g., half Media-Seeking and half Program Content-Seeking, the person was put into the category, mixed pattern with no motive dominating.

[32] Some programs were available on several channels and, thus, are listed more than once.

[33] Each person's interest ratings were summed and the average used to determine whether individual categories were high or low interest (above or below the individual mean).

[34] Bower found that only 37 percent of those with college education thought that an average proportion of TV programs was "extremely enjoyable," compared to 53 percent for those with high school education and 54 percent for those with grade school education. He also found that almost one fourth of those with a grade school education said they often "watch one program and then just leave the set tuned to the same station," compared to 15 percent of those with a high school education and 7 percent of those with college background. See Bower, pp. 58, 73.

[35]This includes all news programs. Almost 100 news programs were added by the cable channels.

[36]Included in the local news are 5, 6 and 10 p.m. broadcasts. The national news includes the network broadcasts offered at 5:30 p.m. Morning and afternoon newscasts were excluded because it was not always possible to distinguish local from national origination.

APPENDIX A

TV VIEWING LOG*

DATE: _____ CIRCLE DAY OF WEEK: SUN MON TUES WED THUR FRI SAT

On the left below is a time chart. Whenever you decide to watch TV for any reason, please note the specific time and then write down why you are going to watch TV in this specific instance. Then write down the program you are going to watch. Each time you decide to watch TV write down the reason before you begin watching. Also indicate when you stop watching.

Morning	Reason you're going to watch TV:	Program:
7:00		
8:00		
9:00		
10:00		
11:00		
Afternoon		
12:00		
1:00		
2:00		
3:00		
4:00		
5:00		
Evening		
6:00		
7:00		
8:00		
9:00		
10:00		
11:00		
12:00		

*This is one of three identical pages.

APPENDIX B

CODING PROCEDURES

Motives were coded through the following procedures:

Program Content-Seeking (PCS):

a) Note whether the name of a program is mentioned, explicitly or implicitly, e.g., "I like 'Mash,'" or "I like this comedy." If no non-content bases are also given, code as Program Content-Seeking (PCS).

b) If respondent gives only phrase, or phrase within a larger response, which includes mention of attributes of program, or reaction to a program attribute, code as Program Content-Seeking (PCS), e.g., "I like such an exciting program," "informative," and "entertaining."

Mixed:

c) If, in addition to the mention of some program (as in 'a' or 'b'), non-content bases are given, code as Mixed, e.g., "I like to watch this game show to relax during my mid-morning coffee break," "I'm going to sit down and rest while my favorite program is on."

Generic Content-Seeking (GCS):

d) If content categories, but no specific programs, are mentioned, code as Generic Content-Seeking (GCS), e.g., "I want the news," "I like movies."

Media-Seeking (MS):

e) If neither generic content nor specific programs are mentioned, implicitly or explicitly, code as Media-Seeking (MS), e.g., "I just want to relax," "to kill time," "nothing better to do," "I like to watch TV in the evening after dinner."

Information-Seeking (IS):

f) If a specific content segment within program is mentioned, code as Information-Seeking (IS), e.g., "I want to find out whether it's going to rain tomorrow."

APPENDIX C

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF HOURS SPENT VIEWING TV ON LOGS BY SAMPLE GROUP[1]

		Before Cable Introduction	After Cable Introduction	
Both	(mean)	12.1 (52)	8.8 (52)	t=5.05
	(median)	11.0	8.1	p < .001
Before only	(mean)	8.6 (34)	-	
	(median)	8.2	-	
After only	(mean)	-	7.2 (60)	
	(median)	-	5.9	
All respondents	(mean)	10.7 (86)	7.9 (112)	t=2.95
	(median)	10.1	7.5	p <.05

[1]The means and medians are based on the number of hours of TV viewing taken from the logs filled out by respondents during a three-day period.

TABLE 2

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PROGRAMS WATCHED ON TV VIEWING LOGS

		Before Cable Introduction	After Cable Introduction	
Both	(mean)	15.0 (52)	10.4 (52)	t=4.56
	(median)	12.9	8.7	p <.001
Before only	(mean)	12.1 (34)	-	
	(median)	9.8	-	
After only	(mean)	-	9.1 (60)	
	(median)	-	7.7	
All respondents	(mean)	13.8 (86)	9.7 (112)	t=3.6
	(median)	12.0	8.2	p <.05

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF TIMES (TVP'S) RESPONDENTS WATCHED TELEVISION[1]

		Before Cable Introduction	After Cable Introduction	
Both	(mean)	5.3 (52)	5.4 (52)	t= .22 N.S.
	(median)	5.1	5.2	
Before only	(mean)	5.1 (34)	-	
	(median)	4.8	-	
After only	(mean)	-	4.2 (61)	
	(median)	-	4.2	
All respondents	(mean)	5.2 (86)	4.8 (113)	t= .95 N.S.
	(median)	5.0	4.7	

[1]The number of times an individual watched TV corresponds to the number of TV Viewing Processes.

TABLE 4

INITIATING MOTIVES (RAW SCORES) BY AGGREGATES[1]

	Before Cable Introduction		After Cable Introduction
Media-Seeking	1.18 (76)	t= .387 N.S.	1.11 (107)
Generic Content-Seeking	2.03 (76)	t=1.93 N.S.	1.50 (107)
Program Content-Seeking	1.92 (76)	t= .36 N.S.	1.82 (107)
Information-Seeking	.25 (76)	t=7.02 p<.05	.33 (107)
Mixed	.53 (76)	t=7.86 p<.05	.30 (107)

[1]The sample sizes are in parentheses.

TABLE 5

DECISIONS TO CONTINUE WATCHING TV (RAW SCORES) BY AGGREGATES[1]

	Before Cable Introduction		After Cable Introduction
Continuation Media-Seeking	1.51 (70)	t=2.58 p<.05	.68 (87)
Program Content-Seeking	3.33 (70)	t= .66 N.S.	2.97 (87)
Criteria Content-Seeking	.96 (70)	t=3.30 p<.05	.30 (87)
Decisions to watch Least Objectionable Program	.17 (70)	t= .98 N.S.	.10 (87)